

Tamir: No decision yet on black money amnesty

By DAVID LENNON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The government hasn't decided what to do with persons in possession of black money, Shmuel Tamir, the new Minister of Justice, said here yesterday.

Tamir was referring to persons who possess undeclared sums of money which they hid to avoid paying income tax. He said in a talk with economic reporters that the black money issue was "complicated" and involved moral, social, economic and legal considerations. He said he did not know what terms the government might offer to induce persons to declare black money they may be holding.

On other subjects, Tamir said it would take "some time" for the public and industry to adjust to the new economic policy. However, he said it was essential for Israel to pass through this new phase in its economic history in order to reach financial maturity. Comparing Israel to prisoners who had just been released from jail by the new economic policy, Tamir said: "The first few days are heady and exciting but then the former prisoner

becomes confused and uncertain and needs time to adjust to freedom." In reference to areas under his jurisdiction, the minister noted that laws formulated during Israel's birth and adolescent years are no longer applicable to a modern developed state.

Tamir said he is working on plans to replace the "archaic" Ottoman laws and British Common Law still in force with a new Israeli Civil Code. He said he wants modern law to be clear so Israeli citizens will know their rights.

One of the first bills Tamir wants to present to the Knesset would be a consumers' protection law to offer buyers redress against manufacturers who sell faulty products. "A free economy also means more responsibility," he said, clearly referring to businessmen.

Tamir said the government must complete the income tax reform. He said the wage structure was too complex and composed of too many items. As an example, he noted that the regulations on the taxation of car expenses still force people to cheat. He also spoke of a re-examination of banking and inheritance laws.



Defence Minister Ezer Weizman addressing members of the U.S. House of Representatives Armed Forces Committee yesterday. They are here to assess the use of U.S. arms in Israel. Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur is at right. (Rohrer)

Little chance seen for DMC joining Histadrut 'cabinet'

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Leaders of the Labour Party and the Democratic Movement for Change have been talking about the possibility of the DMC's joining the Histadrut "cabinet" — the Central Committee.

Such a development may cause an awkward situation with the DMC now in the government coalition. But political sources here said the chances that the DMC would enter the Central Committee are dim.

The Labour-DMC feelers were limited to personal conversations, but not with Secretary-General Yehoram Meshel, the head of the DMC Histadrut faction, Yisrael Granit, told The Jerusalem Post. Labour whip Shimon Aizikson told this reporter that the DMC's conduct at the convention and support of Meshel's candidacy for another term of office had brought it "closer rather than further."

But there are several problems: The DMC supports the government's new economic policy and favours compulsory arbitration in essential services in contrast with the Labour Party's stand.

Granit said his party cannot com-

promise on compulsory arbitration because it had pledged to a that in its election platform. However, he hoped his party had given the right to abstain. Some Labour Party leaders as the head of the Histadrut organization department, Harari, favour forming the cabinet, but a well-informed source did not believe the DMC would join the Central Committee.

"Meshel doesn't need the said, referring to the fact that Alignment alone controls a 50-cent majority. Mapam, which is politically Labour, has forcefully opposed the DMC, which is right of Labour. "Mapam as and that's enough (to keep it out)." Central Committee's Naftali Ben-Moshe told The Jerusalem Post.

Meanwhile, some leading members require the support of the DMC, which is the Central Committee's official term of office. This another term of office. This then applies to members of the committee — Harari, Yisrael Shaul Ben-Simon and Almoshino.

(Powerful, page 1; leader, page 2)

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

President Ephraim Katzir yesterday attended the opening of an exhibition marking the 80th anniversary of the birth of the late artist Bernard Rieder, at the Yaffa and Oren Ben Ami House, 8 Sderot Chen, Netanya.

Interior Minister Yosef Burg yesterday addressed the annual memorial meeting for the fallen members of the Border Police at the Eyal training base east of Kfar Sava.

Mayor Yeruham Ziesel will open the 34th annual bazaar of Na'amat at Haifa's Gil Hall, at 6:30 p.m. tomorrow.

Dr. Joseph P. Zuckerman, writer and author of "Up from Oppression," and his wife were received by President Katzir yesterday. The Zuckermans are in Jerusalem to attend the wedding at the Jerusalem Hilton of their niece and nephew, Elaine Corrin and Charles Merchin, the children of Annie and Chaskei Corrin and Anna and Benjamin Merchin. (Communicated)

Dr. Eliezer Oren, director of the Archaeological Division, Ben-Gurion University, Beer-Sheva, will discuss the five seasons of excavations at Tel Sheva (Sharia) on Sunday at 3 p.m. at the Rockefeller Museum in a lecture series (in English) on "Archaeological Sites, Problems and Solutions," sponsored by the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology and the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research.

An Oneg Shabbat in English will be held at 8:30 tonight at Hechal Shlomo in Jerusalem. Speakers will be Rabbi David Telner and Ya'acov Barnor of the Foreign Ministry. Cantor Arye Goldberg will lead the singing of Zimrat. A Melave Malka will be held tomorrow at the same place at 8:30 p.m. with Eli Nave of the Foreign Ministry as guest speaker. Cantor Yehuda Leander will give a recital. The public is invited to both occasions. (Communicated)

An Oneg Shabbat in English will be held at 8:30 tonight at Ihud Shivat Zion, 86 Rehov Ben-Yehuda, Tel Aviv. Tourists are invited to meet Ya'acov Bar-Or, community leader and Ben Hagai, settler from the U.S.A. (Communicated)

Weizman briefs U.S. congressmen

Post Diplomatic Reporter

Defence Minister Ezer Weizman yesterday discussed Israel's security needs with a visiting U.S. House of Representatives Armed Forces Committee. The 14-member group, led by Rep. Melvyn Price, is scheduled to leave today for Egypt after a three-day visit here.

The committee, which was also briefed by Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur and Army Intelligence Chief Shlomo Gazit, had last night conferred with Premier Menachem

Soviet dissident to U.S.

MOSCOW (AP). — Former Red Army General Pyotr Grigorenko, a top figure in the Soviet dissident movement who has spent more than five years in prisons and psychiatric hospitals said yesterday that he had received permission to go to the U.S. for six months.

Grigorenko, 70, is often considered the most influential dissident figure in Moscow after physicist Andrei Sakharov. His lengthy trip to the U.S. will leave few senior figures in the ranks of Soviet dissidents, whose number has been severely thinned in past months by emigration and arrests.

The Foreign Minister assured the committee that Israel identified with the U.S. policy in opposing apartheid in South Africa. He emphasized that Israel would abide by the UN Security Council resolution imposing an arms embargo on Pretoria but said that Jerusalem was examining the force of the resolution on existing arms deals.

New Australian envoy

Australia's new ambassador, Walter Handmer, yesterday presented his credentials to President Ephraim Katzir. The government was represented at the ceremony, held at the President's residence, by Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan. Also present were senior officials of the Foreign Ministry and the President's Office.

Peres meets Mondale

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Opposition leader Shimon Peres continued his meetings here yesterday, exchanging views with Vice-President Walter Mondale, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, AFL-CIO President George Meany and Sen. Richard Stone (D-Fla.).

On Wednesday evening, he met with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. Peres has been explaining the well-known positions of the Labour Alignment. But he is said to have stressed the national consensus in Israel opposing a Palestinian state on the West Bank. He holds a news conference this morning.

Sharon: Priority to new settlements

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon told farmers yesterday that there would be less government money available for established settlements. Most such funds will be used to develop new settlements, he said.

Speaking on a tour of the Jordan Valley, Sharon said: "It was up to me whether to help existing settlements or to improve new settlements. I would choose the latter. This will be my policy for the next year or two. We simply can not wait any longer. It must be done now. Otherwise they will never be established."

Absorption of cash from public disappoints Gafny

By SELOMO MAOR
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Bank of Israel Governor Arnon Gafny yesterday disclosed the absorption of cash from the public as a result of the new economic policy has been less than expected.

Although financial investments representing savings came to IL2.5b. in the first week of the NEP, not all of the amount was "mopped-up" money, because part of the funds came from alternative forms of savings, such as investment in Nafat dollars, and part came from bank credits which will show up as liquidity deficits.

In addition, there was an injection of Israeli currency, as a result of the sale of \$60m. to the banks. The foreign currency reserves of the central bank did not, however, increase by the full amount.

Gafny said that there had been little conversions of deposits originating in German restitution payments.

Speaking to the Bank of Israel advisory council, Gafny said that there was no room for complacency. Monetary contraction and fiscal restraint, he added, are necessary conditions for the successful implementation of the government's economic policy, which aims at increasing the share of the dollar-earning sectors of the economy.

Local post, phone rates up 15% at month's end

A 15 per cent rise in the local post and telephone rates authorized yesterday by the Finance Committee.

The new prices, which average less than a 50 rise in overseas post and telecommunication rates, will be from the end of November. The act they go into effect is named by the Commun Ministry.

The price of a single telegram within one dialing zone will be 88 ag. instead of 55 ag. — an 15 per cent rise because of the Value Added Tax defence impost.

Telephone telegrams, intra-measuring the number of calls on a telephone and the which block all outgoing national calls will not rise.

Installing a telephone will IL2.750 instead of IL2.500. Basic monthly charge for a in cities will be IL3.50 plus 1 of IL4.50, and in other pa country IL3.50 plus tax instal.

Postal rates are also goli per cent. A postcard will instead of 55 ag.; an ordin 75 ag. instead of 55 ag.; th telegram IL3 instead of I registered letters IL3 I IL2.60. Parcels will also cent more expensive to a

Communications spokesmen said that the were necessary to i ministry's deficit from ris than IL600m.

Dayan urges EE 'consult with Isra

Post Diplomatic Re Foreign Minister Mos yesterday urged the Eur tion Market countries with Israel on whatever positions they adopt. D the appeal at a meeting with those countries' ar here.

The Foreign Minister that the European dialog Arabs was being transfer political one "and the Israel could ask for a ce on Middle East resolutio

Dayan protested a Market governments' vote against Israel set. the administered terribl that the U.S. had abstain resolution termed those as "Palestinian" — in of Security Council provides the framework for in the Middle East.

THE TOP PRIZE of yesterday's Mifal Ha went to ticket number tickets ending with the IL10. Details of other available at Mifal Hap

THE KIBLAT ONO Lo has decided to name th main sports ground Senator Hubert Hut staunch supporter of Isr

Begin sees L (Continued from p Should Israel continu tacked, he added, th Israeli retaliation to civilian population.

Begin expressed his U.S.-mediated cease-fir Lebanon would be resu the way for peace for Christians and Moslem for the population northern region.

Observers yesterday the Premier's special r Lewis as well as the p in the remarks Begin mac bassador as unusual.

Meanwhile, the U.S. conducting talks with Damascus for the re cease-fire which end between terrorists ar militias on Septemb Syrians, whose troops quelled the civil war Lebanon, have been u their leverage on the bring about their with the border region.

Lebanese Premier S said yesterday that his was now determined to forts to establish peace "completely and perma south."

The Lebanese govern reported that over 100 killed and two villages air raid, condemned operation as a flagrant human and moral p government also pve to the UN Security Co. stated that it would urgent meeting of the C

GAON ISRAEL Tora Educational Centre in the name of Mr. and Mrs. Nessim D. Gaon, Geneva, Switzerland

We offer our sincere condolences to our generous patrons, Mr. and Mrs. Nessim Gaon, and to our dear friend, Mr. Yosef Tamman and his sons, on the death of the mother of the family, the much respected

FLORA TAMMAN ז"ל

May you find consolation in your continued work in support of Tora education.

Sharing your grief:

Rabbi Eliehu Shrem, Principal, and his Wife and all students, Babbis, and Members of the Yeshiva Directorate

To Mr. Leon Tamman

President of the British branch of the World Sephardi Federation

and to Mrs. Renee Gaon

Deepest condolences on the passing of your beloved mother

Mrs. FLORA TAMMAN ז"ל

Hacham Dr. Solomon Gaon, London

On the passing of

Mrs. FLORA TAMMAN ז"ל

the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

extends deepest condolences to the Chairman of the Board of Governors, Mr. Nessim D. Gaon, and Mrs. Gaon, as well as to the entire family.

The World Sephardi Federation and The Department for Sephardi Communities of The World Zionist Organization

extend their heartfelt condolences to the Tamman and Gaon Families on the loss of

FLORA TAMMAN ז"ל

mother of Mrs. Nessim Gaon and Mr. Leon Tamman

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

mourn the passing of the distinguished American Zionist Leader

ROBERT SZOLD ז"ל

Honorary Member of the Board Founder of the University of Robert Szold Institute for Applied Science pioneer of economic development in Israel A man of vision and deed and extend sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

In great sorrow we announce the death of our dear

MARY SCHAZERIN ז"ל

The funeral took place yesterday, Thursday, November 10, 1977.

Schazerin Family, Zefra Family and Kibbutz Tsora

The Members of the Executive of the British branch of the World Sephardi Federation

offer sincere condolences to

Mr. Leon Tamman President of the Sephardi Federation of Gt. Britain and to Mrs. Renee Gaon, wife of Mr. Nessim D. Gaon, President of the World Sephardi Federation on the passing of their beloved mother

Mrs. FLORA TAMMAN ז"ל

The President of the Israeli Sephardi Federation and Members of the Executive

express their sympathy to

Mr. Leon Tamman President of the Sephardi Federation of Gt. Britain and to Mrs. Renee Gaon, wife of Mr. Nessim D. Gaon, President of the World Sephardi Federation

on the passing of their beloved mother

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Mrs. FLORA TAMMAN ז"ל

On the second anniversary of the death of our dear

MARGOT KLAUSNER ז"ל

we shall visit her grave on Tuesday, November 15, 1977, leaving from Herzliya Studios at 3.30 p.m. Her friends and those who cherish her memory are invited to Margot's home in Herzliya, 5 p.m.-9 p.m.

The Family Herzliya Studios

With deep sorrow, we announce the funeral of our dear son

RAMI NORMAN KATZ ז"ל

who fell in the Yom Kippur War. The funeral will take place on Tuesday, November 15, 1977, at the Mt. Herzl Military Cemetery at 3.30 p.m.

Milly and Max Katz and Family

On the first anniversary of the death of our beloved

MERTON MILLER ז"ל

family and friends will meet at the gate of the Old Cemetery, Hof Hacarmel, Haifa, on Monday, November 14, 1977, at 3.30 p.m.

We deeply mourn the death of our beloved mother and grand-mother

MIRIAM GOLDBERG ז"ל

Widow of Dr. A. L. Goldberg The funeral will leave today, Friday, November 11, 1977, at 12 noon from the Funeral Parlour of the Assuta Hospital, 60 Rehov Jabotinsky, Tel Aviv, for the Old Trumpeldor Cemetery, Tel Aviv.

Her sons: Prof. Dan S. Goldberg Dr. Gil M. Goldberg and their families

Her sisters: Yona Zaliuk Zila Ziv and their families

כלא מן האל

Arms embargo on South Africa 'too late to hurt military power'

Smith has expressed opposition to the plan's provision that Rhodesia be governed by a British resident commissioner with wide powers during a transitional pre-majority rule period. Smith has also resisted the proposal that the Rhodesia armed forces be replaced by an army based mostly on black nationalist guerrillas.

'Jesus was first fedayeen,' Capucci tells PLO official

Capucci told al-Hout to take back to the Palestinians his message to "stay in your place and fight to get Jerusalem back."

Sunday.
The archbishop said that his prison cell in Israel was 1.4 metres by 3 metres and that it had no windows.

"But the new regime is pursuing a policy of shattering the religious communities of our country and has anti-religious feelings but by the desire to break "a power within the country which could have as much influence as the government itself."

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expected to insist on taking possession. But French government officials insisted that handing the vessels over was out of the question. The contracts for the ships are es-

limit is not breached.
Senior officials at the Marcel

vettes and submarine
said.

'Outside probes' cut FBI's work

The report also cited as a factor "outside inquiries" into the FBI's intelligence operations. ³¹¹

Past disclosures of FBI intelligence abuses while the late J. Edgar Hoover was directed to widespread calls for reform.

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Past disclosures of FBI intelligence abuses while the late J. Edgar Hoover was director led to widespread calls for reform.

"But the new regime is pursuing a policy of shattering the religious communities of our country and has

anti-religious feelings but by the desire to break "a power within the country which could have as much influence as the government itself."

group of terrorists north of the border and kept them under observation. After dark, the security force moved their position and at 2:45 a.m., the terrorists opened fire with mortars on the security force's

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Turkish troops from Cyprus, return of refugees to their homes and cessation of any foreign interference.

The former world heavyweight boxing champion underwent surgery last Thursday for replacement of a

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SINIAVSKY: STARTING FROM SCRATCH

By EMMANUEL PRATT
Special to The Jerusalem Post

"I REALLY don't care under what regime I live — be it Fascist, Communist, Socialist, democratic, or any other — so long as people there are free and don't go hungry." The voice of Andrei Donatovich Siniaevsky is as soft as his handshake, as his glance, as his blue Russian shirt over his soft, grey slacks. During my two-hour interview with him I never saw a smile under his broad beard. But it must be soft, too, I am sure.

Looking at Siniaevsky I could not but think of Ivan Karatayev, the peasant hero-anti-hero in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. What happens to such a man when suddenly he is torn off his native, Russian soil — rocky as it may be — and has to start a new life from scratch? In Paris. Among Parisians.

Nothing seems to have happened to him. Karatayev remains Karatayev. Siniaevsky remained Siniaevsky — even after the Soviets let him out of Russia and locked the iron gates behind him for ever.

"Yes, this is the first time I am out of Russia," he says slowly inhaling his cigarette. "Of course there were problems. But they were purely technical. Contacts with people. Getting used to the new audience (I still don't speak French, you know)."

AND YET he chose to settle in France because he was attracted by the French culture which he absorbed in Russia. In Russian translation of French philosophers, writers, poets, in looking at the reproductions of French art. Now he sees it all in the original.

"I don't think I could be as comfortable in the U.S.," says Siniaevsky, "apart from the fact that I have some old friends here with whom I corresponded for many years. And then, Sorbonne invited me to lecture

on the culture of ancient Russia, the Russian novel, and the modern Soviet poets, Tsvetayeva, Mayakovsky and Yessent.

Of course he misses Russia. But he still keeps in contact with friends there. Writes to them. Talks to them on the phone. He met some of them during his just concluded month's stay in Israel. There were many warm, friendly meetings and talks about the "old days in the concentration camps in Mordovia where he spent five years (out of nine, given him for publishing his critical articles outside of Russia)."

He came to Israel at the invitation of Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, to stay at the Mishkenot Sha'ananim VIP hostel and relax. But relax he didn't: the schedule was much too thick, places to see — too many, impact — too strong. What is the overall impression of all this? "The most amazing intertwining of so many languages and civilizations into one national pattern."

SINIAVSKY'S definitions (we spoke in Russian) are precise, short, quickly formulated, even when he evades issues.

One issue he does evade is his controversy with Solzhenitsin on the one hand and the Russian migrant intelligentsia in Paris on the other:

"When I came to Paris the Russian emigrant intelligentsia received me with warm enthusiasm. They used to come to my lectures. Many contacted me. But soon our mutual lack of understanding emerged."

"We spoke Russian, but it seemed that we spoke different languages. We were of different generations, of different experience. They are still very naive. They are detached from reality. They have a terribly conservative taste. For them, history stopped in 1917. And now it may be too late for them to jump over the gap which they themselves created."

"Weren't they slightly shocked by your Jewish *nom de plume*, Abram Tertz?" I asked. (Siniaevsky still does not smile: "Perhaps, somewhat. But they do not know that Abram Tertz is a name well known in the Odessa underworld folklore. This is where I got it. To me it is acceptable, psychologically and stylistically. It does not sound heroic or noble and beautiful. It is a full-blooded name. He is an Odessa thief and a Jew. A man persecuted and laughed at."

However, it's not Abram Tertz that stands between me and the Russian emigrant intelligentsia. It is my criticism of Pushkin, Gogol and Dostoyevsky that made them so antagonistic to me. I love these giants

of Russian literature, but they (the emigrants in Paris), consider my writings a sacrilege. Because I take them down from their stone pedestals and show them as human beings with all their human traits. You see these two paintings?"

Siniaevsky points at a gorgeous 19th century portrait of Moses Montefiore in a golden frame and then to a modern, bright contemporary abstract and says: "For them the portrait of this gentleman is acceptable, while this picture is a sacrilege."

"Your controversy with Alexander Solzhenitsin is of a different nature, I presume."

Siniaevsky replies immediately. His formula seems to be ready: "I cannot support such Russian nationalism in state problems. I cannot support isolationism. I am not a moralist or a preacher with certain dictatorial inclinations. I am repulsed by it."

"What is your political inclination?"

"I do not consider myself either a political activist or a political writer. I really don't care under what regime I live, so long as people there are free and don't go hungry."

"What is the relationship between the Russian dissidents in the Soviet Union and the Jewish fighters for

emigration to Israel?"

"The relationship is very close. The Russian dissidents defend human rights, and one of the basic human rights is the right to live where one wants to live. There are many — Voronel, for instance — who are both Russian dissidents and fighters for emigration to Israel."

Here Siniaevsky sounds a warning: "The Russian dissidents now are in a very difficult situation. The government campaign against them gains momentum and we expect new trials and repercussions. But they will not be uprooted. The process of thinking continues."

"I understand you had to interrupt your vacation in Israel to go to Norway."

"Yes, I received there this year's Prize for Freedom of the International organization Libertas."

His personal plans for the future are clear: "I am now writing a novel. No, I cannot give any details. And a group of writers in Paris intends issuing a new literary quarterly, 'Syntax.' I shall be writing there."

"Do you think you will ever go back to Russia?"

"No. After a longish pause: 'No, I don't think so...'

Siniaevsky's handshake is as soft as his voice.

ing that his statement would "stun Israelis," Egyptian President Anwar Sadat declared that he was "ready to go to the Knesset" negotiations. The comment caught the imagination of graphic Alex Berlyne, who produced the photo-montage above.

YORK — Late one night, galloping, white-haired and from Mauritius, Radha Ramphul, found himself in his hands and knees, crawling out the floor of U.S. Ambassador Andrew Young's apartment.

They were playing cowboys on the floor. Ramphul recalls with a chuckle that night over white, however, the two envoys talk out serious things as well. "I don't think I could be as comfortable in the U.S.," says Siniaevsky, "apart from the fact that I have some old friends here with whom I corresponded for many years. And then, Sorbonne invited me to lecture

SUNANDA DATTA-RAY
UTTAR — In the legislative assembly of Madhya Pradesh — a ling tract of hill, jungle and in the heart of India — Chief or Kailash Joshi the other day dismissed charges that Harijans (untouchable) women had been by announcing: "To rape is unman."

er, faced with the shocked of Congress Party politicians.

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HAIFA, Sunday, November 20, 1977, at 12 noon
Faculty of Architecture and Townplanning, Room 34,
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JERUSALEM, Wednesday, November 23, 1977, at 7 p.m.
Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 43 Rehov Jabotinsky
SDE BOKER, Thursday, November 24, 1977, at 8 p.m.
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Neve Shanan, Building Research Institute,
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TEL AVIV, Tuesday, November 22, 1977, 8 p.m.
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Wooing the Third World with a casual air

In his 10 months at the UN, Ambassador Andrew Young has the U.S. writes MILTON R. carried — and gained — support BENJAMIN.

the U.S. has more friends all over the world than ever before."

THAT IS NOT to say that Andrew Young gets uniformly high marks for his first 10 months in diplomacy. His casual, some say "happy-go-lucky" style may appeal to much of the Third World, but it grates on the nerves of career envoys of America's more protocol-conscious European allies.

Even Africans express exasperation over Young's "preconceived ideas" about their continent, and are particularly distressed by his constant "reference to the days in America's civil rights movement."

"I have told him on a number of occasions, you cannot compare the experiences of the civil rights movement in South Africa," sighs Tanzania's Ambassador Salim.

BUT MOST of Young's critics concede that his performance has been improving across the board in recent months.



(AP wirephoto)

"Obviously, he's learning," says Nigeria's Harriman. "I notice that these days, he's more careful about his pronouncements. He reads his statements carefully."

Beyond that, Third World ambassadors keep coming back to the matter of style. Andy Young, they say repeatedly, is not an "ivory tower" ambassador. Whatever his other pluses or minuses, Young has courted tiny countries that never had so much as a nod in the hallway from a U.S. envoy before — and it clearly matters.

Within hours of being sworn in as UN ambassador, in fact, Young was on his way to the Organization of African Unity's office in New York to meet a group of six African envoys.

It was the first time that an American envoy had ever come to them. "That may not sound important, but it was very important for the people of Africa," says Ouattara. "Moyinhan never came to see us. We used to get to see the No. 2 or the No. 3 man from the U.S. mission."

IN HIS 10 months as UN ambassador, Young has opened up a dialogue with a number of countries and liberation groups that had

previously been virtually ignored. Mfana futhi Makatini, UN representative of the African National Congress, says he had tried unsuccessfully for years to talk to U.S. ambassadors. The closest he came to making contact was a handshake in a UN corridor. "I had more or less given up," Makatini says.

At 5 o'clock one morning recently, Makatini found himself seated at the U.S. ambassador's breakfast table, having a plate of ham and eggs with Young and his family. Observes Makatini: "It's a fresh development."

NIGERIA's Harriman says that after Young had three African resolutions last week that called for sweeping economic as well as military sanctions against South Africa, people asked him: "Weren't you shocked to see Andrew Young raise his hand to cast those votes?"

"We're not such fools," Harriman responds angrily. "Andrew Young might be black, but Andrew Young cannot act except within the framework of the foreign policy of his country."

But while Young may not make policy, most of his colleagues at the UN believe he strongly influences it

— an impression Young fosters with frequent conversational references to his relationship with President Jimmy Carter.

BUT HAS Young's detente with the Third World — a dramatic change from the days when U.S. ambassadors were taking the floor in the UN to denounce the "tyranny of the majority" — actually made a difference on any votes? Many delegates say the answer is "yes."

"This final resolution imposing the arms embargo on South Africa," says the OAU's Ouattara. "We don't like it. But Andy Young did his best. We let it go because of the general effort which has been deployed by people like Andy Young."

"But with the gentle words of Andrew Young," says Harriman "many of us were able to persuade our friends, 'Why should we be awkward about things like this?'"

SOME THIRD World delegates, however, have mixed feelings about the warm new relationship with America's UN envoy.

"We Africans tend to be sentimental about brotherhood," says the African National Congress's Makatini. "Young gets away with a hell of a lot more than Moyinhan could ever get away with."

Makatini cited Young's statement a week ago favouring continued U.S. nuclear cooperation with South Africa, adding: "If that statement had been made by Moyinhan, the Africans would have been up in arms."

India's persecuted untouchables

hastily amended the defence to explain: "I termed it natural human behaviour because human behaviour can be both good and bad."

But Joshi's unthinking callousness only too tragically highlights elitist India's disregard of about 80 million (untouchable) women had been by announcing: "To rape is unman."

er, faced with the shocked of Congress Party politicians.

people who are born beyond the pale of Hinduism's exclusive castes and are therefore regarded as unclean in a ritualistic sense.

"Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden," proudly proclaims India's republican constitution which was adopted in 1950. The meaningless of that mockingly empty affirmation was exposed 27 years later, when Prime Minister Morarji Desai recently promised that there would be no Untouchables by 1982.

MEANWHILE, reports from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh — from all the orthodox agricultural states, in fact — suggest that Harijans are still victims of cruel persecution. A 30-year-old Harijan was beaten to death with stones in Orissa when caught stealing yams; high-caste Andhra Pradesh villagers have imposed a \$3.50 fine on anyone who dares talk to society's outcasts; in Tamil Nadu, Harijans are treated as slaves.

Elsewhere, they are refused living wages, denied access to temples and even municipal roads and parks, not allowed to draw water from village wells.

BUT IT WOULD be a simplification to see the problem only in terms of religious stratification. It has social, economic and political overtones which defy solution.

For 30 years, successive Congress regimes have lavished special favours on Harijans — money grants, free education and earmarked jobs — which have created a vested interest in backwardness. The Congress Party's only interest lay in votes. These were guaranteed by a bunch of cynical Harijan leaders, who supported the ruling party in exchange for the lucrative privileges which they kept for themselves.

The rich peasant is the most important feature of the Janata Party's power base. Moreover, Home Minister Charan Singh, the strong man in the New Delhi cabinet, is a firm defender of the rights of the rural rich.

Singh's own constituency of Morad is notorious for its caste crimes; the Communists claim that a 13-year-old Harijan girl was raped and murdered there in September. YET THE recrudescence of conflict

is in itself a hopeful sign. The Harijan is no longer prepared passively to submit to his house being burned down, his crops looted, his sons drenched in petrol and burned alive and his wife raped before his eyes. Intensifying high caste violence could also be the backlash of a class that feels it is at bay.

A simple change in nomenclature, as for instance when Mahatma Gandhi decreed that Untouchables should be known as Harijans or Children of God, is not enough. A Harijan remains as untouchable as before. The stigma of caste follows even those who seek refuge in the enlightenment of Buddhism.

Hence the recent murmuring of protest, an insistence on human dignity and citizenship rights. Maharashtra Harijans were some years ago inspired by the American Black Panther movement to form a militant group of their own called the Dalit Panthers. Armed Harijans in Bihar took to Naxalite (Marxist) terrorism even during Mrs. Gandhi's repressive emergency.

Both movements were suppressed, but they offered a glimpse into the awesome shape of things to come. Morarji Desai has already been warned that unless he takes immediate steps to ensure equality, he will have a civil war on his hands. (Otas)

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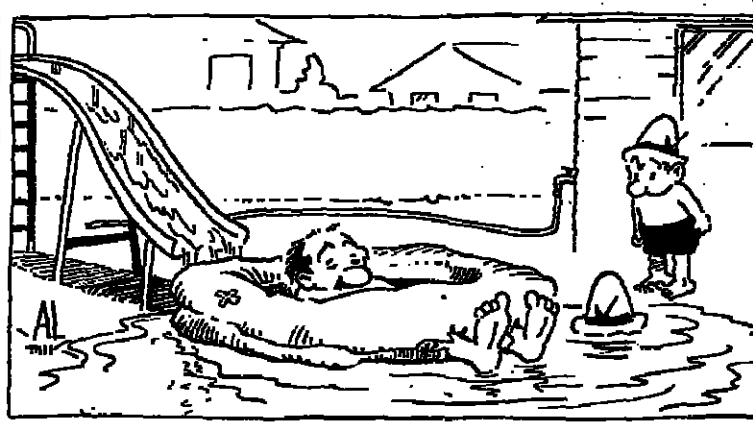
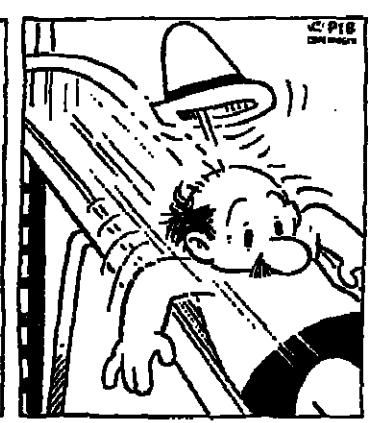
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TELERÉVIEW / Philip Gillon

THE MAGAZINE had a very good feature about the man working as leasbest, who nets £1200 a month more than the Prime Minister. Nevertheless, he comes out with great difficulty, and only manages to do so because sometimes he gets 11 or 12 correct solutions on *Sportscote*, although he has never hit the jackpot of 13. Poor A.D. Gordon must be spinning in his grave: we have become a nation of gamblers. The rich play the stock exchange, the poor play Toto and Payis. What is strange is that everybody — except me — seems to win. Are there no other losers in the country?

• The "Candid Camera" should be broken and discarded. There are numerous really funny half-hour programmes around, as those of us who watch Jordan know. Why not introduce Israelis to the incomparable Phyllis?

When he ran "Treasure Hunt," there was some excuse for this manner, since the programme had a strong educational content, although even then I thought he should be more light-hearted. But this new show is all entertainment. Perhaps he is overwhelmed with a feeling of responsibility, because he is paying out public money. Nobody cares. The great trouble, I fear, is that Israelis are not taught to play for the fun of playing, without any element of improving their characters.

The "Philistine" is a person who, to his own loss and disadvantage, stops up the wells of living waters that constitute the dominance of the Divine spirit in the world!

Notices are accepted for this column, appearing every Friday, at the rate of \$1.25 per line—plus \$1.00.

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Bringing the Holy Land home

CHRISTMAS will come early for Johnny Cash. It will be a very special one but it will be given the widest possible public exposure — on the coast of U.S. television.

Cash and his singer wife, June Carter, led an entourage of 21 persons to Israel, spending 10 days of sightseeing and of "shooting" background scenes in Bethlehem and Galilee for a Christmas special to be aired over CBS-TV on November 30.

He took time out between takes for 15-minute chat with Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and according to a spokesman who was present, couldn't get a word in edgewise. He stopped, too, at an orphanage, where he sang to the children.

"I feel as good as a Gentile can feel the City of Jerusalem," Cash said. Much of the singing for the Christmas special is being done at the Grand Ole Opryhouse in Nashville, Tennessee, the American capital of country and Western music. The film shot here will be a backdrop for the songs.

"I wanted to do a Christmas special with my friends and family," said Cash, born to a cotton farmer in Highlands, Arkansas. He

now lives 28 kms from Nashville and winters in Jamaica, where he owns a 17th century home.

The friends who will be singing with Cash and his wife, who is a distant relative of President Carter, are among the superstars of Country and Western music. They include Roy Clark, Roy Orbison, Carl Perkins and the Statler Brothers. The songs will be a mixture of Christmas carols and a bit of Americana — Gene Autry's "Back in the Saddle" among them. There will be one in memory of Elvis Presley, too: "This Train is Bound for Glory."

Cash will recall in the special his previous trips to Israel in 1968 and 1971. The second time he was here he made a movie, "Gospel Road," that was bought by 20th Century-Fox and sold to World Wide Pictures of Burbank, California. It is part of evangelist Billy Graham's organization.

The film now is in distribution in 500 churches throughout America, giving Cash a bit of a reputation as an evangelist.

He is not an evangelist, despite his strong religious feelings and faith in his Protestantism that pulled him through the worst period of his life

when he was lost in a foggy world of alcohol, barbiturates and amphetamines. Now he drinks teetotal at least in public.

Cash spent a year making "Gospel Road," a project he seems to view as having repaid a debt to his religion for getting him through the worst times. "I would like to be remembered for it," Cash said of the film. "I can't call what I do evangelism except for 'Gospel Road,' and then only after it was taken out of my hands."

Cash is 45 and looks older, despite the lack of gray in his dark hair. The age is in his brown eyes, on his lined face. The sensitivity that he projects in his songs, many of them written by himself, comes through in conversation and in dealing with strangers as is as graceful as a blue-blooded aristocrat. He has a knack for remembering names.

His sensitivity is reflected in his impression of a visit to Masada. "Masada was the most stirring, inspiring thing I've ever seen," he said. (UPI)



Johnny Cash at the Western Wall. (Lester J. Millman)

LAURICE KAHAN of Paris was sitting in the lobby of the Tel Aviv Hilton one evening shortly after the Day War when he overheard someone say a piano was needed for performance. Yaffa Yarkoni was to give for wounded soldiers at Tel Hashomer that evening. Apologizing for eavesdropping, he offered to provide the piano.

By the time he returned home, he had other ideas of how he and his friends could help wounded soldiers. He went to Keren Or, an organization now celebrating its 25th anniversary.

For the occasion, Kahan has brought 100 members, supporters and friends of Keren Or to Israel so that they can see for themselves that their money and fund-raising efforts have done good.

This week, they dedicated a sports hall at an army base and a sports field in Bnei Brak and laid the cornerstone for a cultural centre at Jaffa.

Initially, Kahan thought of inviting groups of wounded soldiers to France for a holiday. With the help of friends, he brought over the first group of 25, mostly amputees, in 1957. Over the years until the Yom Kippur War many more groups followed.

"After the war, General Harel, who was then head of the manpower department, told us that other countries were following our example and that we could help in

Ray of light from France

By LEA LEVAVI / Jerusalem Post Reporter



From right: Maurice Kahan, Maurice Taleb, Bella Taleb and Maurice Jablonsky. (Tapscott)

her soul had instantly re-entered life — at Ivy's birth.

The Templetons, fearful for their daughter's safety, turn to a Jewish lawyer friend, who offers little consolation as he recalls his grand father's vivid tales of the Sphinx.

Hoover is brought to trial on a charge of having kidnapped Ivy in an unprecedented court case.

Directed by Robert Wise this well-made film is almost entirely free of gimmicks. Its strength and purpose lies in its acceptance of reincarnation. After a shaky beginning, Marsha Mason and Susan Swift develop strong and moving performances, while respected British actor, Anthony Hopkins, with his gentle voice and mystical expression, is

beautifully convincing as the father of Audrey Rose.

LAST GAMBINO WORLD (Fear, Tel Aviv) Starring Massimo Fusco. Directed by Massimo Fusco. Released in English. IF YOU'RE squeamish, this film is not for you nor for your children. This is no Tarzan adventure. It is a true story.

In 1975 Robert Harper, an American executive, flew into the Pacific island of Mindanao to inspect a research outpost in the jungle. The camp was deserted. He and his companions found themselves trapped by a stone-age tribe of cannibals. Harper, alone, survived the most grotesque and horrible ordeals. Intent on authenticity, Italian director Ruggero Deodato took his

actors, film crew and a military detachment back to the same spot among the cannibals to reconstruct their horrendous events.

His camera penetrates the cave-home and way of life of the tribe, capturing on film their weapons, ceremonies, sexual habits, cruel rituals and an act of cannibalism. Where he does not actually experience, he convincingly simulates as in the birth of a female child at the river's edge, loosed by its mother into the current for crocodiles.

Massimo Fusco, as Harper, does a splendid job in an obviously demanding, unorthodox, and un-cold role. Dialogue is minimal; the jungle is alive; and there are some amazing scenes, sickening in their primitiveness, remarkable in their filming.

other ways."

Those "other ways" included supplying equipment to hospitals, including the first ophthalmological laser at Tel Hashomer and helping meet the cultural and recreational needs of both wounded soldiers and fighting men. "We don't dream up our own ideas of what we want to donate," Kahan said. "We give what the army tell us they need."

The nucleus of Keren Or consists of 12 members, including Kahan's friends Maurice Jablonsky and Maurice and Bella Taleb. "All of us have friends, relatives and business associates who contribute," Maurice Taleb explained.

Maurice Jablonsky added that only about 40 per cent of the 109 in the delegation are past donors. The others are people interested in Keren Or and who will become donors, it is hoped, after this trip. "I think that with the group we have here we won't have to worry about raising the rest of the money for the Refidim cultural centre," Maurice Kahan said.

Asked about their projects for 1978, they said they will know until their meeting with officials of the army's manpower department.

"We just follow orders," Kahan said. "After the army tells us what they need, we go back to Paris and call a meeting. Everyone pledges to raise a certain amount and so far we have always been lucky enough to meet those goals."

BRIDGE/George Levinson

ALAN TRUSCOTT, The New York Times bridge writer, hailed West's play at the second trick as "world class defence." After the diamond suit, he said, "can you look only at the North and West hands, and the play which helped set South's four-spade contract?"

THE BRILLIANT TOUCH

White — K2; Q4; R4; R5; N5; N6; N7; N8; N9; N10; N11; N12; N13; N14; N15; N16; N17; N18; N19; N20; N21; N22; N23; N24; N25; N26; N27; N28; N29; N30; N31; N32; N33; N34; N35; N36; N37; N38; N39; N40; N41; N42; N43; N44; N45; N46; N47; N48; N49; N50; N51; N52; N53; N54; N55; N56; N57; N58; N59; N60; N61; N62; N63; N64; N65; N66; N67; N68; N69; N70; N71; N72; N73; N74; N75; N76; N77; N78; N79; N80; N81; N82; N83; N84; N85; N86; N87; N88; N89; N90; N91; N92; N93; N94; N95; N96; N97; N98; N99; N100; N101; N102; N103; N104; N105; N106; N107; N108; N109; N110; N111; N112; N113; N114; N115; N116; N117; N118; N119; N120; N121; N122; N123; N124; N125; N126; N127; N128; N129; N130; N131; N132; N133; N134; N135; N136; N137; N138; N139; N140; N141; N142; N143; N144; N145; N146; N147; N148; N149; N150; N151; N152; N153; N154; N155; N156; N157; N158; N159; N160; N161; N162; N163; N164; N165; N166; N167; N168; N169; N170; N171; N172; N173; N174; N175; N176; N177; N178; N179; N180; N181; N182; N183; N184; 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OPINION

FRATERNALLY OURS

MARK SEGAL talks to visiting here for this week's Histadrut trade union leaders, who came convention.

OTTO KERSTEN, secretary-general of the 30 million strong International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), praises the Israeli decision not to follow the U.S. out of the International Labour Organisation. The position of the Government and the Histadrut is that, since there is no alternative to the ILO, it is best to fight from within. Kersten notes that the ILO is the only UN agency in which an Israeli, the Histadrut's Gideon Ben-Israel — serves on its governing body. Ben-Israel was elected on the ICFTU slate.

Because the ILO is the only organization with the machinery to follow up the violation of human and trade union rights, it should not be abandoned to "an unholy alliance of Communists, Fascists and reactionaries," he says. The ICFTU wants to join forces with all democratic elements in the organization in order to counter these trends.

Kersten regrets that detente has not yet reached the ILO. He agrees with the analysis of the U.S. delegation, but not with its drastic decision to walk out. Obviously, the ILO should deal with social problems and not with irrelevant political issues, he stresses, adding the hope that the U.S. will shortly review its position and return to the organization.

A great friend of Israel and a frequent visitor here, the 49-year-old labour leader warns that should the Arab states try anything so extreme as seeking Israel's expulsion, the ICFTU — which controls 12 of the 38 seats in the ILO governing body — would mobilize many other countries to leave too.

Kersten would also like to see the U.S. back in the ICFTU, which it left in 1959. He has been invited to the American Labour Federation AFL-CIO convention in Los Angeles next month, when the issue of rejoining the ICFTU will come up.

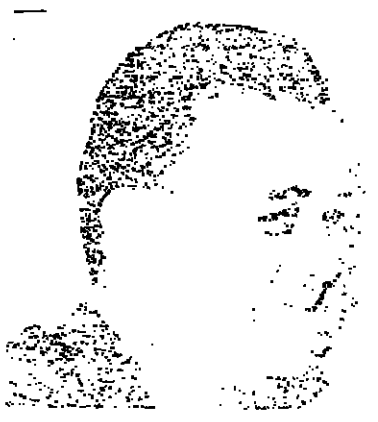
WHEN ASKED about world labour's attitude to the Likud Government, Kersten says that they respect the outcome of democratic elections. But, he continues, "we expect conservative governments to respect the social infrastructure and trade union rights. I would like to advise your government that the introduction of compulsory arbitration for labour disputes is in direct contradiction of Covenant 88 of the ILO."

The Labour leader caused quite a stir when he raised this matter during a TV interview in Australia, which he visited just before coming here. "We took a position, before Milton Friedman came to Israel, against his monetary theories. In our modern democracies we have to take into account, more than ever before, the basic needs and social consequences of economic policies."

The ICFTU fears that ideas such as Friedman's would undermine the social character of trade unions, which are already threatened by bureaucratically-run, centralized economies.

World trade unions also wish to fight terrorism and hijacking, and Kersten mentions an impending meeting with IFALPA, the pilots' union. The UN General Assembly condemnation of hijacking was hardly binding, he notes, and the unions must seek to protect people. Trade unions in each country will now demand proper airport security arrangements similar to those in Israel, West Germany, Britain and the U.S.

Asked for his impressions of the stormy opening session of the Histadrut convention, Kersten says: "It could be said to be the product of democracy. I think, in this case, it was overdue, especially at an opening session and the way the President of your State was insulted. I have never seen such a performance in my many years of trade union experience. I fear that such behavior may indicate a situation where the Histadrut will be weakened by the behaviour of its own right-wing."



Otto Kersten

GLENN E. WATTS is vice-president of the AFL-CIO. He headed its fraternal delegation to the Histadrut convention, as a demonstration of U.S. labour's solidarity with Israeli labour and support for Israel. This was underlined by the presence of a delegation from the United Automobile Workers of America, and a sizeable contingent from COPE, the political arm of the American trade union movement. The amiable, 58-year-old Watts is president of the 600,000-strong Communications Workers of America.

Born in South Carolina, Watts is said to have been among the first labour leaders to believe in Jimmy Carter's presidential prospects; he subsequently helped to deliver the labour vote.

Watts' warm identification with Israel's cause is on record. He is one of the most internationally minded AFL-CIO leaders — he opposed leaving the ILO, is happy that Israel is staying in, and is for rejoining the ICFTU. Watts reports that AFL-CIO vice-president Lane Kirkland — slated to succeed its president, George Meany — is as firm a friend of Israel as Meany has proved to be.

What emerges from a talk with Watts is the extent to which the Carter Administration is striving to persuade Israel's friends in Washington of the validity of its policy towards the Jewish State. He had breakfast at the White House just before flying to Jerusalem for the Histadrut convention, and was supplied with a copy of Carter's speech to the World Jewish Congress assembly.

Watts advises both Israel and the U.S. labour movement "to get used to the idea that we have a friend in the White House. I know it hard (to accept this), but it's true," he says with a disarming grin. He does not accept the notion that Carter is rushing to get the Geneva conference going at Israel's expense.

Meany's criticism of the joint U.S.-Soviet statement was "a knee-jerk reaction," and his position has "moderated" since. "The present Administration wants to make a big jump to Geneva. They had to bring in the Russians, because they can't go to the conference without them," he explains.

THE AFL-CIO vice-president recently attended a seminar run by Washington's American University, whose president is his old friend Joseph Sisco. The participants included most of the Establishment figures involved in the region and business people. What he heard was: "Israel is stronger now than she was at the beginning of 1973. The Arabs cannot afford a war, but nor can they afford to let things carry on as they are." This, Watts points out, is part of the justification for the Administration's policy — the Arabs cannot sit still for too long. "Thus there must be some movement so that Sadat can sell his ideas to Arab radicals."

Watts feels this view was borne out by the recent remarks of Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan on the need to maintain the diplomatic momentum. However, the labour leader is most unhappy with what Dayan reportedly said about Israel-South Africa relations "being none of America's business." "In that case," he says, "people are going to say there are other things happening to Israel which are none of our business." He warns that South Africa is rapidly becoming a burning issue in America, and UN Ambassador Young's position is enjoying widespread support. This trend must be taken into account by Israel. Watts' friendly advice is that failure to do so "could get Israel into trouble with U.S. public opinion."

MANUEL GARNACHO, 37, is one of the leaders of Spain's socialist trade union federation, the UGT (Union General de Trabajadores). He came here to register his movement's support for Israeli labour. He notes that in a recent debate on Spanish Middle East policy in the Cortes (parliament), the socialist PSOE party — which won 32 per cent of the vote in the first general elections since the Civil War — was the only faction to mention the need for full diplomatic relations with Israel.

The personable trade unionist points out that only this April was his labour movement given an official permit to make public appearances. With Franco's death and the disappearance of the Falangist regime, the old government-sponsored workers' syndicates fell to pieces. The UGT is just beginning to work in the open, and it is encouraged by its progress. Last year, it had 11,000 members; it hopes to have 1,500,000 members by the end of the year. Alongside the socialist party, the UGT is a fighting opposition to the Suarez Government, which, he says, cooperates with the Communist Party and the trade unions for fear of socialist successes at the works committee elections in December and the local elections next spring.

Garnacho is interested in the Histadrut experience with cooperative enterprises, remarking that the cooperative movement is spreading throughout Spain. Moreover, the UGT is now fighting in court for the return of some of its assets, which were confiscated by the Franco regime during the Civil War. What is fascinating, he says, is the extent to which Spanish workers kept faith with their traditional democratic organizations despite the nearly 40-year Falangist hiatus. There was an immediate rallying to the socialist movement as soon as they revived the UGT and the PSOE.

Garnacho is here with Alfonso Echeverria, general secretary of Basque Workers' Union, who sees resemblances between his movement and the Histadrut — both could claim to be labour organizations and movements for national revival. The Basques — Echeverria stresses — do not regard themselves as Spanish. Even the sons of those Spaniards who migrated to the Basque province for its job opportunities have become Basque nationalists.

At this point Garnacho interjects with the information that the socialists won more votes in the Basque province than the nationalists, and support their aspirations for autonomy, but not for separatism. Echeverria concedes it is utopian to aspire to separatism; but they want autonomy as a start, like the Catalans (who recently won theirs from the Central Government in Madrid).

Echeverria says the Basques have sympathy for Israel apparently, there is an historical bond between their movement and Zionism that goes back to the 1930s.

SOME SPOKESMEN of Oz Veshalom are themselves not free of some of the bad traits they attribute to Gush Emunim. Among these are a claim to exclusive knowledge of how we ought to deal with the territorial question in the light of Jewish tradition, and an occasional distortion of terms and contexts.

(Oz Veshalom, which some people call "the movement for sane Religious Zionism," is a group of former and present members of the National Religious Party who organized themselves about two years ago to oppose the Gush Emunim trend in Religious Zionism.)

A few examples of the tendency are to be found in an article by Uriel Simon, professor of Bible at Bar-Ilan University and a leading Oz Veshalom figure, in the October 25 edition of "Yediot Aharnot." He starts out by taking the Government to task for representing the problem of Jewish settlement in Samaria as one between us and the U.S., whereas it is "fundamentally one between us and our neighbours."

Of course it is. And I have always thought that it was precisely because of a certain assessment of our relations with our neighbours and because of certain considerations of principle that many of us hold which may be broadly described as the Gush Emunim-Land of Israel Movement-Begin view on the territorial question. Members of Oz Veshalom are free to argue with that assessment and those considerations and conclusions, but they cannot say they do not exist.

As for the U.S., I do not understand how it comes into this as the other party to the dispute. I understand that we are interested in America as the one major power that has not yet placed itself squarely in the opposite camp. Therefore we hope to persuade it of the justice and wisdom of our case so that it may support us where it might count.

Prof. Simon describes our dispute with the Arabs as one between neighbours, each of whom is trying to persuade the judge as to the justice of his own case. (The U.S. is suddenly no longer adversary but judge.) In so doing, he continues, the adversaries forget that whatever the judge rules, the victor must then live with his neighbour and not with the judge. So the adversaries had better not ignore each other's just claims, and ought to try and settle things out of court.

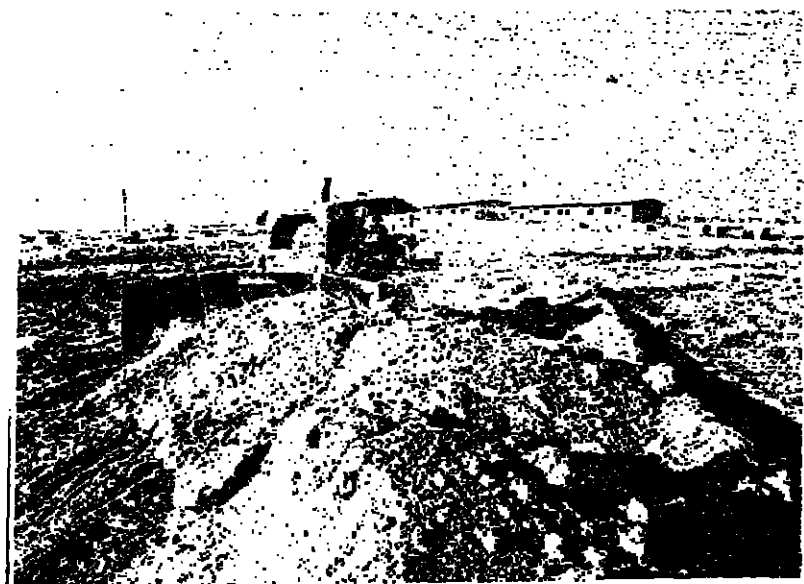
This is a charming analogy, except for its implication of a perfect system. In so doing, he continues, it ignores the heavy weight of history and law in our favour, and it ignores our efforts to meet our neighbours halfway, if not more, since the dispute started to take its form at the time of the Balfour Declaration.

It also ignores the fact that the dispute is no longer just between us and the Palestinian Arabs, with the U.S. sitting as sole judge. The entire "Arab world," nearly all the Moslem countries and most of the "Third World" have joined our neighbours' side in the litigation. What is more, they are in the courtroom not only as co-plaintiffs (or co-defendants), but also as co-judges, along with the many others crowding the bench alongside the U.S.

PROF. SIMON goes on to say that the moral person must bear in mind that the blame in a dispute cannot possibly be entirely on one side. Therefore, we must hear, and give fair consideration to, our adversary's claims.

Beautiful advice. I hope that Oz Veshalom is giving similar advice to our neighbours, among whom there may also be moral persons wishing to know where they have been unfair to the Jews.

To be sure, we have sometimes



Tractor at work at settlement in Samaria.

(Rubinger)

Messianism and the 'territorial question'

The peace policy of Oz Veshalom, "the movement for sane Religious Zionism," contains the same pseudo-Messianic danger that Oz Veshalom says lies in Gush Emunim's territorial policy, argues MOSHE KOHN.

committed morally wrong acts against the Palestinian Arabs. It would be interesting, however, to compare the extent to which the moral turpitude of each of the two sides has been a matter of basic philosophy, strategy and high policy, and to what extent a matter of individual, partisan action. It would also be interesting to compare how each side has dealt with instances of the latter.

Oz Veshalom people generally prefer to discuss the matter of Jewish settlement in Judea-Samaria from the moral and religious rather than the political-security standpoint. This because, as Prof. Simon puts it, "for the religious Jew, every dispute — private or national — is also a matter between him and his Maker." Such a Jew must therefore be sure that his actions are in keeping with God's requirements of him, in keeping with "the Torah way," according to the appropriate scale of values. He is afraid, however, that in doing so he lays himself open to accusations of "half-hearted defeatism," "tender-hearted idealism," "Arab-lover," "self-hater," and the like. We Jews, he says, tend to employ such epithets against fellow Jews "who concede that the Palestinians have a national right in part of Eretz Yisrael."

Indeed, some nationalist extremists tend to do so, just as some universalist extremists like to hurl such epithets as *stupid*, *chauvinist*, *millarist*. But I do not remember that the overwhelming majority of the people ever adopted this tone against many leaders of the pre-State Zionist Movement and of the Religious Zionist Movement and of the non-Zionist Agudat Yisrael, who over the decades have advocated compromise with the Arabs in Eretz Yisrael, including an Arab state.

However, even less extreme persons may find it difficult to restrain themselves when they hear someone speaking as though we are the main perpetrators of injustice and only mentioning in passing that the Arabs, too, may be even so slightly to blame.

Again and again, Prof. Simon suggests that the Arab "No" to us is basically a reaction to evils we have done to them. Few people among our arch-doves "provocative." How many reminders do they need that our neighbours were "provoked" by our very appearance in "the Arab world" as a sovereign people; provoked even before 1948, by our presence here as a people aspiring to sovereignty? Our neighbours were offended by our very aspiration to equal first-class citizenship with them in a cantonal state, a bi-national state, a federative state — in any one of the various compromise Palestinian (the term then referred also, perhaps primarily, to

the Jews) states that various authorities and private individuals suggested before 1948.

URIEL SIMON is sure that a majority of us "are ready... to agree to territorial compromise in Judea and Samaria." I am sure he is right, and I count myself among that majority. However, he finds that our readiness for compromise is flawed by the fact that it stems "solely and exclusively from a sense of lack of alternative; not, Heaven forbid, from a free recognition of our followers' right, but solely from submission to Great Power pressure."

I should like to know: what morality requires us to solve the Palestinian Arabs' national problem in our homeland, at great risk to our individual lives and to our national life, in view of the entire history of their management of their side of the dispute?

Jewish settlement in Judea-Samaria "makes the possibility of peace more remote," Oz Veshalom and others say. But all Jewish settlement, in any part of Eretz Yisrael, since the beginning of Zionist settlement has made that possibility more remote. Fortunately, the Zionist "founding fathers" concerned themselves more with solving the Jewish national problem than the Arab national problem. Otherwise, there would be no State of Israel today.

Secondly, the Arabs having reacted to us as they did, how do we doves — religious and others — know that more massive settlement in the last 100 years, and even immediately after the 1947 war, would not have speeded peace? How do they know that even today a great Jewish national resurgence, in Israel and in the Diaspora, expressed by a large-scale aliyah and by large-scale settlement wherever in Eretz Yisrael it can be accomplished without directly and forcibly displacing people, would not bring the Arabs and the rest of the world to their senses and speed peace?

THE PEOPLE of Oz Veshalom rightly note the difference between the views of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook and his Gush Emunim followers, on

the one hand, and that of people Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik on territorial question.

The former believes that we are prepared to die rather than up any part of Eretz Yisrael. Latter maintains that the territorial question is a matter of life and death. Therefore, just as in health we consult doctors before giving Halachic decision about dishevelled with Sabbath or Kashrut law order to save a person's life, political-security matters we first consult the political military experts.

Since there are at least Halachic views here, Prof. Simon's territorial question "open one."

Correct. And some of politicians and generals believe we should have got out of Samaria and all the rest long. In fact, some of them believe we had followed their advice the outset, we could have achieved the good will of the neighbours.

But they tried their way, in less, for nearly 60 years, and did not come. Not because they were wicked. On the contrary, they perhaps not wicked enough.

Peace would have come enough if from the beginning a deal with some Palestinian or as our ancestors were come to deal with their Amalekites as morose problems; as the Iraqi with their Assyrian problem; die and Pakistan deal with respective Moslem and problems in 1947-48; as the Poles Russians deal with their German problem after 1945. Zion Khinner are dealing with Cambodian problem — the long.

For all the condemnation have been rained on us for outrages some of us did c against Arabs in 1948 and 1967 the outrages that none of us committed, we might as well done what the "family of us" has been accustomed to do similar situations and getting with it, and getting "peace."

Our leaders in all the years this year's elections did not c And I don't think our present I intend to do it. What they intend, as I understand it, is c Rabbi Soloveitchik's view c Rabbi Kook's. It is based on c of Jewish history and tradition claims, and pragmatic geopolitically considerations. It is, indeed, an open q whether there isn't a greater to our individual lives and national life in the Oz Veshalom approach than in that of the Government. It is an open q whether the latter approach not long ago have brought us and whether it might still no us closer to peace than the p created by Oz Veshalom are pursued by our pre governments.

LIKE OTHER members of his ment, Prof. Simon quotes ext ly from the Jewish sources how much God cherishes pe wishes us to pursue it. They d plying. At least, that Ji teaches "Peace now, and price," just as some Gush E people quote from the sou way that implies "Territor and at any price." Does not peace policy contain the danger that Oz Veshalom an say lies in Rabbi Kook's ter policy — the danger of c Messianism that will lead us c brink?

It is an open question. Som politicians and generals ha answer; in its essence that bring us peace. Others politicians and generals are ing another answer. Let's tr

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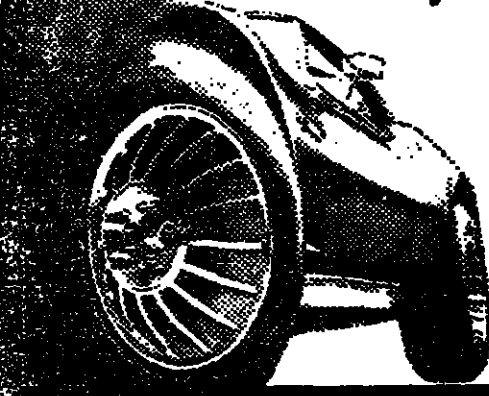
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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1977 • VOL. XLVII, No. 14163

Welcome, President Sadat!

AHLAN WASAHLAN YA RAYIS!

We are confident it would not take more than a few hours to convene the special session of the Knesset plenum which you have offered to address personally in an effort to cut through the procedural knots on the way to the Geneva conference.

And it would not take even that long to set the tables in the Knesset's Chagall Hall for the state dinner to end all state dinners which would follow.

We only hope that our hospitality will match the Thousand and One Nights welcome which you and your countrymen cannot fail to accord to Prime Minister Begin on his proposed return visit to Cairo.

Theatrics? Certainly. President Sadat has for some time established his credentials as one of the most consummate political hams on today's international stage. It is refreshing to note, however, that our own Mr. Begin is no slouch in that department, either, although his style is somewhat different.

But even in the field of political theatrics some styles are much to be preferred to others. Mr. Sadat made his dramatic proposal to go to the Knesset in order, as he said, to avert the unnecessary death of even one Egyptian soldier. This brings to mind an earlier Sadat performance of several years ago in which he declared, just as heatedly, that he would not flinch at paying the price of a million Egyptian dead and 100,000 casualties among his soldiers in order to regain "the conquered territories."

It is far too early to assess the importance of Mr. Sadat's latest pyrotechnics, and judging by past history Israel has good reason to maintain its sceptical stance. Nonetheless, several points do stand out as welcome novelties:

President Sadat made his proposal in Arabic to a domestic, political audience, the Egyptian parliament. The fact that an Arab leader could bring himself to speak to his own people in a manner hitherto reserved for foreign consumption only, can be seen as a step in the right direction, no matter how small.

It should also not be overlooked that Mr. Sadat's proposal, no matter how histrionic, was greeted by wild applause from the members of the Egyptian parliament; and this on the very day that Israel's air force was hitting hard at PLO bases in Lebanon.

Mr. Sadat would seem to be engaged in two games simultaneously: pressing hard for going to Geneva, despite internal opposition in the Arab camp, on the assumption that American pressure against Israel at Geneva will lead to the best realistic deal the Arab world can hope for; and alternatively, laying the groundwork for the Arab case in the forthcoming play — "Who killed the Geneva Conference and the prospects for peace?"

Mr. Begin has adopted the correct stance in deciding to play the game rather than huffily rejecting President Sadat's initiative. We would not urge the Knesset staff to be on standby call. But, on the other hand, if President Sadat really means it, the "Ahlán wasahlan" is heartfelt.

New Histadrut realities

THE MUTUAL muscle-flexing on the part of Labour and the Likud which upstaged this week's Histadrut convention provides ample evidence that neither party has yet come to terms with the changed circumstances following last May's national elections.

The Histadrut was the epitome of a state within a state in the pre-1948 days and served as a major arm of the Labour dominated nation-building establishment in the first 29 years after independence. Thus, the idea of a government foisting a new economic policy on it without prior consultation, and even by admittedly resorting to subterfuge, has come as an understandable shock and affront to the Histadrut establishment.

On the other hand, the Likud's success in the May elections seems to have gone to its head to such an extent as to blind its leaders to the fact that Labour did retain control of the largest and most powerful organization in the country in the polls held only a month later.

It is thus equally understandable that Likud leaders should tend to interpret legitimate trade union opposition to the most discriminatory aspects of the new economic policy as part of a Labour plot to unseat the Government.

Labour's silliness in refusing to extend the convention's formal greetings to the Government in power and the much more worrisome resort by the Herut faction to premeditated strong-arm tactics, evoking bitter memories of the Revisionists' attempts to break the Histadrut in the 1930s, are examples of this mutual failure to come to terms with realities.

Prime Minister Begin should have realized that succumbing to the temptation of labelling the Histadrut under the leadership of its moderate Secretary-General "bolshhevik," would inevitably lead to the hurling back of the epithet "fascist" at him and his cohorts.

It is clear that the Labour Party which controls the Histadrut would like to wrest governmental power from the hands of the Likud; and equally, that the Likud would dearly like to cut the Histadrut down to size in accordance with its concept of what a tame trade union should be.

What is sorely needed, however, are new rules of the game within whose limits this democratically legitimate contest can be conducted. There is a patent danger that an attempt to use the Government's power to break the Histadrut, or conversely, to use the Histadrut's power to undermine the Government in extra-parliamentary fashion, will lead instead to economic and social chaos.

Mr. Meshel is to be congratulated, in this super-heated atmosphere, for his declaration on television on Wednesday night that his patriotism would not permit him to call a general strike, no matter what the provocation. It is to be hoped that his approach remains dominant within Labour, and that it is reciprocated on the part of the Government and the Likud.

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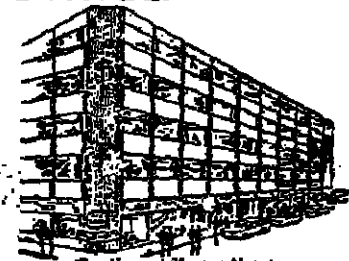
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A crumbling consensus

Former Finance Minister Yehoshua Rabinowitz, silent until now about his successor's economic policies, speaks out — critically — in an interview with MEIR MERHAV.

EVEN SOFT-SPOKEN, mild-mannered Yehoshua Rabinowitz is bitter and angry these days, as he surveys the new economic policy sprung so suddenly on the country by his successor, Finance Minister Simcha Ehrlich. Until October 23, Ehrlich did no more than to follow in the footsteps of Rabinowitz, who was at the helm of Israel's economy until five months ago.

Rabinowitz is bitter because the ruling coalition has not contented itself with superimposing its own policy on what existed before. It has done its best to drag into the dust all Rabinowitz's achievements in the last 30 years, and his own in the last three. Rabinowitz is also bitter about "his" top officials at the Treasury — that praetorian guard which switched allegiance so rapidly, so easily, so eagerly. He would be because he is powerless to change the new reality. The bitterness and disappointment is not just personal. In all he says, in all that he keeps silent about, and in the way he voices his criticism, there remains a burden of national responsibility which weighs Rabinowitz down and hampers his effectiveness as a leading member of the Opposition.

It is difficult to say that Yehoshua Rabinowitz is angry. Real anger simply is not an attribute one normally couples with his name. But beneath the surface there seethes an outrage over what the Likud government has done — a realization that the accepted social, economic and political structure of Israel, as it emerged over more than two generations of practical Zionism, is on the verge of a fundamental transformation. A transformation Rabinowitz does not like. Economic rationality, even if it were pure, is not applicable to the building of a country and a nation.

RABINOWITZ is still preoccupied with the defence of his own policies, as much as with a critique of the present Government's. Contrary to established military doctrine, he still seems to think that defence is the best attack. But Simcha Ehrlich may have jolted him out of that posture. The changes are too great, and those that loom ahead even more so. Consolation in the laurels of the past is difficult to find.

The present economic programme, says Rabinowitz, clearly brings to light the Likud's fundamental differences with the Alignment. For the first 100 days of grace, he kept silent. He saw a policy not much different from his own — and the interests of party politics could not bring him to turn upon what he

himself had engineered so recently. Even now he makes a point of conceding — not grudgingly — that Ehrlich's policy has some positive aspects. He has no complaint, in principle, against making the economic mechanism more flexible, and against doing away with all kinds of distortions.

But what are "distortions," asks Yehoshua Rabinowitz. For 30 years, he says, we built this country using a system of planned distortions. We called them incentives. They were oriented towards certain purposes. We gave incentives to settlement, to the housing of new immigrants, to new development areas, to exports. We tried to be selective, and thus to economize on means. We may not have succeeded everywhere, with everything. But we built, we created. We now have an economy with \$25.12 in exports — one of highest export amounts, per capita, in the world. Distortions are not necessarily a dirty word to Rabinowitz. His world is not that of the economic theorist, his face to the blackboard and his back to his living students. Not every deviation from the straight and narrow path of economic rationality is negative. There are positive distortions.

Rabinowitz sees Ehrlich's policy as dangerous, economically counterproductive and unnecessary, and socially unjust and damaging. There was not even the slightest attempt to ensure a minimum of equity in the distribution of the burden — assuming, which he denies immediately, that the burden was necessary at all at the present time. Only a few months ago Ehrlich even abolished the procurement tax. That, Rabinowitz says, incites mainly on the affluent. It brought in TL800m. — as much as will be cut from welfare services.

Ehrlich's policy is clearly class-oriented. It's good for speculators, for tax-evaders, for merchants, for building contractors who will get orders from those who convert dollars into lire and buy real estate before it goes up in price. It does nothing for the real producers of the country — exporters — and imposes an unprecedented burden on wage earners.

Rabinowitz, with the sense born of long experience, scorns the theories and policies which rely on the so-called free play of the market forces. That, he says, exists only in Milton Friedman's textbooks. In reality, there are two or three firms in each branch, which fix prices — and now they have gone on a spree in which they jack up prices not only for cost increases already incurred, but in

expectation of those expected six months from now.

His own policies, Rabinowitz says, provided a chance to slow inflation down within two or three years to tolerable levels. But the new policy has built a new fire under inflation, which will remain high at least until the end of the decade. It will undermine investment, development, and any basis for reasonable labour relations.

SARCASM, SCORN and outrage are not really in Yehoshua Rabinowitz's nature. But there is a thin smile on his lips — a smile in which there is no humour — when he recalls Ehrlich's hope that Israel "will become an international financial centre." "What centre?" he asks. Like Vaduz, which became a financial sanctuary because it has no workers? Who would ever prevented foreigners from investing here and taking their money out again, except objective conditions? Have these conditions changed? To lift currency control in our precarious situation is an irresponsible gamble.

Moreover, the former finance minister argues, there was absolutely no need for this policy. Since 1974, his own policy had saved \$20.12 in imports, had reduced the trade gap by \$1.2b., and increased the foreign currency reserves to an unheard-of level. Ehrlich could never have dared to do what he did, Rabinowitz says, had it not been for the accomplishments of the previous policy — and now they talk of having left them a "soured earth" and a "demoralized system."

But, I pressed, even Labour governments had carried out massive devaluations. In 1968, in 1962 and in 1974. What is the difference? And moreover, what is the great difference between a creeping devaluation, which Rabinowitz and his advisers can claim as their innovation, and the floating of the lira?

Rabinowitz has his answer ready. All previous massive devaluations, he says, had been necessary, even if not completely successful. Moreover, they were never as one-sided, in terms of income distribution, as this one. At least there should have been a capital levy. And this devaluation was completely unnecessary, at least at the present time. The massive devaluation in 1974 came right after the Yom Kippur War, which cost us the GNP of a whole year and upped our trade deficit from \$1b. to \$4.5b.

WHAT SHOULD have been done? The unhappy former finance minister — caught between the



Ehrlich and Rabinowitz, finance ministers past and present, at the Histadrut convention this week.

dynamic growth period of a Pinhas Sapir and the shards of a social and economic system shattered by the Yom Kippur War — says that there should have been fine-tuning of the economy. It was progressing. There had been a huge improvement in the trade balance. Another two or three years would have done the trick.

But why can't the present policy succeed? — Because achievements in the field of social welfare, in living standards, in the entire web of social and welfare relations, cannot be abolished or reduced overnight. The present devaluation will require a drastic cut in welfare services, and in the working population's living standards. They won't take it. Nobody can reduce living standards by 12 per cent at once. Therefore, we shall enter a new inflationary spiral.

THE ALTERNATIVE is unemployment. And Rabinowitz sees Ehrlich's policy as consciously aiming at high unemployment. That, he says, undermines the country's strength. The knowledge that there is employment back home, he says, is one of our major defences. Take that away from the soldier who mans the tank, and he will not be able to fight as he did.

Full employment, for Yehoshua Rabinowitz, is not just a social goal. It is one of the bulwarks of our very defence capability, of our remaining a Zionist country.

Moreover, he says bitterly, the whole image projected by the Likud — of a new era of freedom — is nothing, but a fraud upon the public. What free-floating exchange rate, he asks? The float is a "dirty" float, with massive intervention by the Bank of Israel. It differs little from the administrative fixing of exchange rates before — except that it is less visible.

The difference is that it is more dangerous. Irresponsibly so. He reminds us that only a year and a half ago, sterling slumped and only massive aid from the International Monetary Fund and other European countries made it possible for Britain to weather the storm. Who will

help us, he asks. Was it not the Alignment the foundations for it not the "depoliticization" of devaluation, but of the civil service, of the our life, which is possible?

There is no clear and a vague sense that the return to basic values, renaissance of values, our own times, our own Apart from the status alignment represent the liberalism, the Likud of fraud, there is no clear of where the heroic pioneering, social Zionism went off the became a bureau "pharisaic" (may Fro much in vogue, save mindless transportation from America) nation meekness overtones.

YEHOSHUA Rabinowitz's world has tumbled there is something wrong Prime Minister, who o castans incited crowd storm the Knesset, and about "extra-parli protests. Rabinowitz se Histadrut is and cannot but political. How questions of income dis non-political? He is a demagoguery of imply did, that Israel has mis foreign aid. Have we n tion with it? Have we wars with it? Were supermen around to do have not those who no beauty of wealth obtain same were? Rabinowitz also sen plices that the critique will have to be radical, go back to the basics. sees the implications is road back to a revival of thereby ultimately to p — but who will take the the thousand-mile mar

Dry Bones



POSTSCRIPTS

NOW THAT President Sadat has expressed his willingness to consider the, for him, gigantic step of coming to the Knesset, we can safely tell the story of the two Egyptian delegates whom we met at a recent international women's conference.

We were happy, though not stunned, to use the Egyptian President's word, to find that the two women, one elderly, one young, actually responded to our overtures. Our extended hand was shaken, our "Salaam" returned with "Ahlán w'achlan" and our suggestion that we sit down for a chat ("just tell us whether the chocolates at Groppi's

are as good as they used to be") agreed to.

Actually, the conference gave us no opportunity to get together. But when we said goodbye on the final day, the elderly Egyptian said "Inshallah, by our next conference (in 1980) we shall be able to meet and talk officially. This has all been going on too long." We suggested that when peace comes we would organize a regional meeting and added that if it were held in Israel, we hoped she would come and stay with us in Jerusalem. "Thank you," came the reply, "I should like to." And we embraced — in full view of dozens of delegates.

From the heart? Oriental politeness? We thought at the time it was a case of two women talking a female *Nagus franca*. But perhaps there really has been a shift in thinking on the other side of our southern border. P.D.

READERS' LETTERS

ONE'S OWN PRUDENCE IS ANOTHER'S RIGIDITY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — For several years, and more so in the past few months, the United States has made it clear that it believes Israel is unreasonably rigid with regard to the return of territories occupied since 1967.

Israel's governments under every Prime Minister since 1967 have responded that they cannot afford to go back to the old borders because these were not defensible, and because it would mean giving up too much to governments and forces that have made war on Israel four times in 30 years. Furthermore, these governments and forces maintain a state of war to this day.

It may be helpful, in trying to understand the intractability of the Arab-Israeli dispute and to assess American policies and attitudes, to see it from an experience very close to us at this time. President Carter recently signed the new Panama Canal treaties, yet a difficult struggle lies ahead for their ratification. And what is it that is up for ratification?

It is a set of treaties proposing to alter the status of a piece of territory and a strategic asset — the Canal and the Canal Zone — that the United States acquired through the unprovoked use of its power against a South American country 74 years ago. The major concession that the United States makes to Panama in these treaties is to terminate its control of the Canal and the Zone in another 22 years. But even then, this country retains the right to intervene to protect the security of the waterway.

The closest major U.S. population centre to the Canal Zone is Houston, Texas. The distance is about 1,800 miles as the crow flies. The chances of Panama's threatening the lives and homes of the people in that or any other American community are remote indeed. Yet the treaties took 14 years to negotiate, and an all-out effort headed by the President himself is required to secure Senate approval.

Viewed from this perspective, it may become more plausible why Israel is reluctant to move as the U.S. and many other nations around the world would like her to move. For what is at stake is not a strategic waterway and a small zone 1,800 miles away, but every single city, town and village in Israel, which

could come under direct attack. Arab forces would be at the gates of Jerusalem, some 15-20 miles from Tel Aviv, and a mere nine miles from Netanya.

The party Israel would have to contend with is not Panama whose President came to Washington, shook hands with President Carter, and broke bread with him, but a whole array of countries who have maintained a state of war ever since Israel came into being, refuse even to recognize her existence, and refuse to sit down with her representatives in the same room.

The United States "occupied" the Canal Zone for more than 80 years before she agreed even to discuss a change in its status with Panama. The change that the two countries agreed on in almost a generation's time of negotiation is of a kind that Israel might legitimately be asked to consider, such as 22 more years of control over the administered territories, or at least those closest to her heartland. If in the case of the Panama Canal, even this kind of arrangement faces a tough test in American public opinion and in the U.S. State, clearly anything less favourable, like turning over the Canal sooner, to forces with a declared and demonstrated hostility to the United States, would not even have been negotiable.

With what justice, then, does the United States speak critically and at times threateningly to a friendly nation because that nation is reluctant to risk its very national existence?

ROBERT E. GOLDMANN
New York.

THE DMC'S DE TO JOIN T GOVERNME

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Mr. Sela (Novi course entitled to be the DMC's decision: coalition government, righteous indignation Yadin's step is not a majority of memb Democratic Movement Hafia Baynide area br. As an active camp DMC since its inception in touch with various supporters both before elections and I know them hoped that the g of the DMC would b volved in tackling the ternal, social an problems, and not a barren opposition. PND

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Factory: Mabsom Erez Industrial Park. Tel A

drugstore

TWO FLOORS OF SURPRISES IN A UNIQUE ATMOSPHERE

Come in on Saturday night, 7-10 p.m.

10 minutes drive from Tel Aviv. A light drink will be offered. Opening hours: 10 a.m. — 10 p.m. daily.